

How the Political Talks between the North and the South Have Proceeded

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It is nearly two years since the north and the south of Korea which had long been dissociated with each other started a dialogue to reunify the divided country.

There have so far been many contacts and talks between the north and the south, starting from contacts between the liaison representatives up to the recent talks of the North-South Coordination Commission. However, since the announcement of the historic north-south joint statement on July 4 last year the north-south dialogue has made no further progress; it has virtually been at a stalemate. Meanwhile, despite their proposal at the beginning that the proceedings of the talks must not be made public, the south Korean authorities, breaking faith with our side, have unilaterally made public the details and the whole course of the closed sessions of the talks between the two sides in an extremely distorted manner.

We, therefore, deem it necessary to tell the truth to the world public.

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Reunifying the divided country is the supreme national task of the Korean people.

Right at the time when our nation was split, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea set forth the policy to achieve the country's peaceful reunification through the efforts of the Koreans themselves without any foreign interference, and has ever since exerted every effort to actualize it.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the D.P.R.K., said:

"Our invariable stand is that the reunification question, our nation's internal affair, must be solved peacefully on a democratic basis and on the principle of independence, free from any foreign interference."

At every stage of the development of the situation, the D.P.R.K. Government repeatedly advanced fair and reasonable proposals for the facilitation of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, and took the initiative in creating favourable conditions for the reunification. During the last 28 years the Government of our Republic and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half, in their endeavour to accelerate national reunification, have proposed to the south Korean side measures to save the nation on more than 130 occasions.

The proposals made by the Government of the Republic involve all the big and small problems relating to national reunification—the establishment of a unified central government by free general elections throughout the north and the south, the setting up of a north-south Confederation, the convocation of a political consultative conference of political parties and social organizations, the reduction of the armed forces of the two sides and the withdrawal of foreign troops, the economic and cultural exchanges, mutual visit, correspondence, etc.

The new save-the-nation proposal put forward by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the D.P.R.K., in his historic speech on August 6, 1971, is another clear expression of the endeavours made by the Government of the Republic for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. In his speech he concisely analysed the internal and external situation rapidly developing in favour of the Korean people's cause of national reunification and advanced an epoch-making proposal for negotiation with the present ruling circles and all political parties and social organizations in south Korea. Since this new proposal for negotiation accurately reflected the present trends of the international situation towards peace and the easing of tensions and the burning desire of the entire Korean people for the country's peaceful reunification, it enjoyed unreserved support and acclaim at home and abroad, thereby marking a historic turning point in bringing about our country's peaceful reunification.

Under the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad supporting this new negotiation proposal and the ever-increasing aspirations for the country's reunification, the south Korean authorities who had rejected any and every contact between the north and the south had to have a dialogue with us, though in the form of Red Cross talks.

The south Korean authorities attended the Red Cross talks but obstructed them from the very outset.

As the aspirations for peaceful reunification rapidly increased in south Korea after the opening of the preliminary talks of the north and south Red Cross organizations, they declared a "state of emergency" in December 1971 under the pretext of the fictitious "menace of invasion from the north" and repressed the people's aspirations for the reunification, deliberately creating tensions. The "state of emergency" declared by the south Korean authorities allegedly on our account was in fact an insolent provocation against us; it revealed that they were not interested in reunifying the country.

However, our side bore all this, and kept expediting the Red Cross talks, while, at the same time, exploring possibilities of political talks at a higher level.

Thus behind the north-south Red Cross talks the liaison representatives of the two sides began secret contacts, and through a number of preliminary contacts the first high-level talks were held at Pyongyang in early May 1972.

The opening of the north-south high-level talks following the Red Cross talks meant that the north-south dialogue entered the phase of political negotiation; this was a great stride forward towards the acceleration of the country's reunification.

While the first high-level talks were held at Pyongyang the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the D.P.R.K., personally received the south Korean delegates twice. At the receptions he clarified the three principles—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity—as the fundamental principles the two sides must adhere to in the common cause of national reunification. Li Hu Rak, south Korean delegate, promised that his side would “regard Premier Kim Il Sung’s three principles as the basis for reunification.”

During the high-level talks at Pyongyang an agreement was reached on the three principles of national reunification and, furthermore, there was a sincere exchange of views on those points which had caused misunderstanding and mistrust between the two sides; and both sides expressed their principled attitudes, assuring that they both would endeavour for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The talks at Pyongyang were followed by the second high-level talks at Seoul late May 1972. Here at the talks, our side reaffirmed the three principles of national reunification already agreed upon, and proposed to make these principles a common programme for the solution of the question of national reunification, to set up the “North-South Coordination Commission” as a joint national standing consultation apparatus and to announce the agreements reached between the two sides in the form of a north-south joint statement. The south Korean side said that they agreed to our proposal in principle but pointed out that “our circumstances do not permit us” to announce the agreements in the form of a joint statement. Thus, during the talks at Seoul no agreement was reached on the announcement of a joint statement. Only thanks to the consistent efforts exerted by our side the joint statement was made a month later, that is, on July 4, 1972.

The announcement of the north-south joint statement was an event of historic significance in carrying out the great task of national reunification, the supreme desire of our people. This demonstrated to the whole world our people’s firm will to reunify the country with their own efforts without foreign interference; it unequivocally proved the correctness of our Government’s consistent policy of independent, peaceful reunification and meant the bankruptcy of the line of national division pursued by the south Korean authorities.

The announcement of the north-south joint statement brought a bright dawn of reunification to our people. Upon the announcement of the historic joint statement, all the people in north and south Korea and the whole world enthusiastically supported and hailed it and the tide of reunification rose higher still.

Since a common milestone indicating the solution of the question of national reunification was set up with the announcement of the joint statement, the two sides were confronted with the immediate task of implementing the agreements contained in the joint statement. However, no sooner had they signed the north-south joint statement than the south Korean authorities belittled it, and clamouring for "confrontation with dialogue", fanned antagonism between the north and the south and threw cold water on the mounting aspirations for national reunification. This unfaithful act on the part of the south Korean side cast shadow over the north-south dialogue achieved at long last and delayed the urgent task of forming and running the North-South Coordination Commission.

Under these circumstances, in an endeavour to make the north-south dialogue a success and implement the agreements contained in the joint statement as soon as possible, our side repeatedly proposed to the south Korean side that the meeting of the Co-Chairmen be held even before the formation of the Coordination Commission. Hence, on October 12, 1972 the first meeting of the Co-Chairmen of the North-South Coordination Commission was held at Panmunjom. At this meeting our side strongly warned the south Korean side against their unwarranted violations of the joint statement since its announcement, and the south Korean side admitted their fault and pledged that they "will act true to the spirit of the agreement."

In less than a week after the first meeting of the Co-Chairmen the south Korean side declared "emergency martial law" in addition to the "state of emergency" already in force, and enforced what they called "October Restoration".

The "October Restoration" legitimized the destruction of the patriotic, democratic forces demanding peaceful reunification and democracy in south Korea, a permanent rule by the present authorities, a lasting confrontation with the northern half of the Republic and a perpetuation of the division. This is entirely contrary to the spirit of the north-south joint statement, and another perfidy against our people ardently desirous of the country's peaceful reunification and against us, their counterpart in the dialogue. Referring to this, south Korea's high authority himself stated, "The October Restoration was a necessary action to confront north Korea effectively" (the *Radio Social Education*, January 10, 1973).

However, since they said that they still wanted "peaceful reunification" and pledged to "abide by the spirit of the joint statement", our side decided to continue with the dialogue, hoping they would take a national attitude, and proposed the convocation of the second meeting of the Co-Chairmen at Pyongyang.

Thanks to our patient efforts, the second meeting of the Co-Chairmen was held at Pyongyang on November 2, 1972. The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the D.P.R.K., again received the members of the south Korean side who had come to Pyongyang to attend the meeting; he time and again stressed that as an important measure

for carrying out the agreements of the north-south joint statement, the north and the south must put an end to the confrontation and materialize multilateral cooperation in the political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres. And this was formally proposed by our side to the south Korean side at the meeting. The south Korean side agreed to the cooperation between the north and the south at the meeting. However, when preparing the joint press release, they said that they were not against cooperation itself but could not use the expression "cooperation". They were also opposed to the specific wording such as "political, economic, diplomatic, military and cultural". So the two sides compromised with the expression that "the north and the south agreed to work with joint efforts in all spheres."

The second meeting of the Co-Chairmen also adopted the "Agreement on the Composition and Operation of the North-South Coordination Commission" which the liaison officers of the two sides had been discussing.

During the preparation of this "Agreement" there were many differences of opinion between the two sides as to the formation of the Coordination Commission. We had insisted that this body must be composed of influential figures from the authorities of the two sides who are actually capable of consulting and solving the question of national reunification in conformity with its objectives and functions. The south Korean side insisted that it must be composed of low-level working personnel from the Central Intelligence Agency. This showed their scheme to reduce the Coordination Commission to a working body with no competence whatsoever and confine the north-south dialogue to a narrow scope, thereby making it practically impossible for this body to solve the reunification question. But, as their unwarranted insistence was no longer tenable, the south Korean side was forced to agree to forming the Coordination Commission with persons with the rank of minister or vice-minister.

The third talks of the Co-Chairmen held at Seoul on November 30, 1972 in accordance with the "Agreement on the Composition and Operation of the North-South Coordination Commission" formally established the North-South Coordination Commission and declared its formation at home and abroad.

Now that the common programme for reunification was mapped out and a joint consultative body set up, the immediate task was that of taking practical measures to reunify the country.

From then on the differences between the two sides became more apparent and the position of the south Korean side which was not interested in the solution of the question of the country's reunification could no longer be covered up.

At the first meeting of the North-South Coordination Commission our side proposed that as a clear manifestation of mutual trust, the north and the south desist from arms race and the reinforcement of their armed forces, reduce the numerical strength of the armed forces and put into

practice the north-south cooperation already agreed upon. At this meeting the south Korean side made no proposal and turned down all our proposals.

The second meeting of the North-South Coordination Commission was held at Pyongyang in mid-March 1973 and the third meeting at Seoul in mid-June 1973. At these meetings our side advanced a five-point proposal as a specific means for removing the military confrontation between the north and the south and easing the tension. In addition, we proposed to materialize the multilateral cooperation between the north and the south, and for this purpose, to establish five sub-committees for political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural affairs within the Coordination Commission and to convoke a political consultative conference of political parties and social organizations of the north and the south in order to step up the dialogue and negotiation between the north and the south on a wider scale.

The south Korean side rejected all our proposals and suggested that only economic and cultural sub-committees be formed to discuss the possibility of limited exchanges in these fields.

Thus, the second and third meetings of the Coordination Commission failed to reach any agreements.

As is clear from this, the whole course of effectuation and progress of the north-south dialogue was by no means a plain sailing. It was a continuation of the serious confrontation between the position going in for national reunification and the position for preservation of division.

Even though there were twists and turns, the talks between the north and the south have so far achieved a series of results, and all of these results are due to the active initiative and efforts of our side.

On the other hand, the lack of sincerity on the part of the south Korean side and its negative attitude towards the question of reunification are entirely responsible for the delay and slackness of the dialogue and its present stalemate.

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In the dialogue our side started from the position of developing the north-south relations on the basis of mutual trust, cooperation and unity, of pulling down the barriers between the north and the south as soon as possible and facilitating the cause of independent, peaceful reunification.

Needless to say, this position is in accord with the policy of independent, peaceful reunification of the country which the Government of our Republic has consistently advocated since its inception. It also fully meets the unanimous demands of the Korean people who ardently long for the reunification of the country and measures up to the expectations of the

peace-loving people of the world who desire a lasting peace in Korea and the rest of Asia.

This just and fair position is explicit in the proposals put forward by our side at the talks. One of the important questions put forward by our side is the three principles of national reunification. These principles are: first, to reunify the country independently on the principle of national self-determination, without dependence on foreign forces and without foreign interference; second, to achieve national reunification by peaceful means without resorting to arms against each other; and third, to realize great national unity beyond the difference in ideologies, ideals and social systems.

The question of Korea's reunification is a question of reunifying the artificially divided north and south, and so it is in any case an internal affair of our nation and a question of the Korean people exercising their right to self-determination. Moreover, our people are fully capable of reunifying the country by their own internal forces.

The dialogue started between the north and the south is in itself an expression of such a will and ability of our people.

So the question of Korea's reunification should naturally be settled independently by the Korean people themselves, and there must be no foreign interference.

How to reunify the country is a question of vital interest to the Korean people and, at the same time, a question which has an intimate bearing on the peace and security of the Far East and Asia.

Of course, there is no reason to employ arms in settling the internal affairs of our nation, nor ground for the Koreans to fight among themselves.

So long as the north and the south want to settle their national affairs independently by joint efforts, the country must naturally be reunified in a peaceful way.

The peaceful way is the way which is congenial to the common national aspiration of the Korean people who hate fighting among themselves, and it is a correct way of solving the Korean question, which is in keeping with the contemporary trend to peace and relaxation of tension.

In order to solve the question of national reunification peacefully on an independent principle, there must be the great national unity of the north and the south.

The realization of great national unity of the north and the south beyond the difference of ideologies, ideals and social systems is the primary prerequisite for the improvement of the north-south relations and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, and it is the most reasonable and principled way of facilitating the rapprochement between the north and the south in the present conditions of our country.

For nearly 30 years the two parts of Korea have travelled in diametrically opposite directions under the different systems and ideals. So,

should any one side seek to impose its system and ideology on the other, the two parts can never be united but will inevitably remain divided. This, in the long run, will make the independent, peaceful reunification of the country impossible.

If the north and the south are to improve their relations and approach each other and pave the way together for independent, peaceful reunification, they must not impose their ideal and system on each other but must transcend them. They must give priority to the common interests of the nation and, on this basis, approach and unite with each other.

This is the only way to remove the long-standing alienation between the north and the south, to open up a new phase for national unity and to guarantee independent, peaceful reunification.

The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity represent the great programme of national reunification which charts most correctly and clearly the reasonable way of solving the reunification question in our country.

In coming to agreement on the three principles of national reunification, both sides laid the common basis for the north-south dialogue as a whole and reached a milestone on the road to reunification.

This was a victory of the line of national independence over the line of dependence on foreign forces, a victory of the line of peaceful reunification over the line of reunification by force, a victory of the line of unity over the line of confrontation and the first victory of the line of reunification over the line of division.

Another important question our side put forward at the meetings was to end the state of military confrontation between the north and the south and ease the tension.

This is a question of prime and fundamental importance both in improving the north-south relations for the future and in smoothly settling the question of national reunification.

In our small territory of 220,000 square kilometres huge regular armed forces of both sides are today standing face to face across the Military Demarcation Line; their armaments are being continuously expanded; and this gives cause to a constant tension between the north and the south.

It is obvious that such a state of affairs might lead to a fratricidal war in our country and, furthermore, seriously jeopardize peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

The state of military confrontation between the north and the south poses a question not only because it is fraught with the danger of military conflict but also because it constitutes the root cause of misunderstanding and distrust between the two parts..

As was made clear in the first north-south high-level talks, the south Korean side is labouring under a misapprehension that our side is going to "invade south", and our side has a distrust of the south Korean side because

the latter is making war preparations to attack the northern half of the Republic with the U.S. backing.

It is mainly because of this that the north and the south have this or that kind of misunderstanding and distrust of each other now.

Precisely for this reason, it is necessary before anything else to put an end to the state of military confrontation and remove the tension so as to clear away the misunderstanding and distrust between the north and the south and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and unity.

Unless this question is solved, the fundamental misunderstanding and distrust between the two parts cannot be cleared away, and as long as there remain misunderstanding and distrust there can be no real improvement of the north-south relations.

Proceeding from this, our side posed the abolition of the state of military confrontation between the north and the south as the fundamental problem and, as a step to solve it, made the five-point proposal—discontinuation of the reinforcement of military strength and arms race, withdrawal of all foreign troops, reduction of armed forces and armaments, an end to the introduction of weapons from outside, conclusion of a peace agreement.

This proposal is another graphic proof of the consistent and active efforts our side has been making to pave the way for peaceful reunification by consolidating peace in our country and creating necessary conditions for trust between the north and the south as soon as possible.

The realization of this proposal will quickly ease the tension between the north and the south, bring about an epochal turn in the improvement of the north-south relations and create a solid guarantee for the peaceful reunification of the country.

If this proposal is realized, the people will be relieved of their heavy burdens of military expenditure, innumerable youths and middle-aged people will be able to return home, and more manpower and material resources of the country will be geared to the development of the national economy and improvement of the people's living standards.

Moreover, these steps will assure a lasting peace in Korea and thus make a great contribution to the cause of peace in the Far East and Asia as well.

Yet another important question our side put forward in the talks was to realize many-sided cooperation and exchange between the north and the south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.

What is urgently needed to both sides today when they are confronted with the supreme national task of reunifying the country, is to put an end to the state of confrontation and put their relations as soon as possible on the basis of common interests.

Many-sided north-south cooperation is the most reasonable and realistic way to solve this question.

Basing itself on the agreement on making joint efforts in all spheres reached by both sides at the second meeting of the Co-Chairmen, our side

made proposals, as concrete practical measures to put it into effect, for the convocation of a political consultative meeting of parties and social organizations, introduction of a north-south Confederation, the calling of the summit talks, and other political steps which are of fundamental significance in the solution of the reunification question, and maintained that various steps be taken in the military field—such as the reduction of war production, curtailment of the military personnel, cutting of military expenditure.

Also, as steps for cooperation in the economic field, proposals were made for the joint development and utilization of mineral resources, the opening of the fishing grounds of north and south to each other and assurance of free joint fishing operations, the division of labour in the economy between the two parts, realization of economic exchange, the joint undertaking of irrigation works in south Korea. And by way of scientific and cultural cooperation proposals were made for joint studies on the unified development of the national language, joint researches on the history of our country, reciprocation of theatrical art performances, joint production and exchange of films, opening of joint exhibitions, joint entry into the international arena of unified national art troupes and unified sports teams.

Along with this, in order to realize many-sided north-south cooperation, we proposed to set up political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic sub-committees in the Coordination Commission, as stipulated in the “Agreement on the Composition and Operation of the North-South Coordination Commission” which was adopted by both sides.

All of our concrete proposals for many-sided cooperation between the north and the south are the most active and rational ones aimed at solving the internal affairs of the nation for ourselves and positively paving the way for the independent reunification by pulling down the barriers of division as soon as possible and laying the real basis for national union.

When north-south cooperation is realized in various fields, the barriers between the two parts will crumble down, the national bonds will be restored, and the long-standing misunderstanding and distrust between the two parts will disappear and an atmosphere of trust will be created.

Not only that, many-sided cooperation will make it possible to effectively use all the possibilities of the north and the south, thereby rapidly advancing the country's economy and raising the people's living standards.

Then, our internal forces as a homogeneous nation will grow immensely larger, the national pride of our people and their spirit of independence will rise still higher, and the Korean people themselves will be able to hew their way forward more confidently for independent, peaceful reunification, as the master of their own fate.

Further, an important proposal made by our side at the talks was to call a political consultative meeting of representatives of the parties and social organizations from the north and the south.

To hold such a meeting today is a natural demand for settling the

question of national reunification with the nationwide participation of the people in north and south Korea and in accordance with the will and demands of our people.

The question of our country's reunification is a question which naturally has a bearing on the destiny of the entire Korean people, and it represents a task of the whole nation which must be solved by the joint forces of the people from all walks of life in the north and the south and in their interests.

Therefore, only with the active participation of the broad masses of the people, who are the real master responsible for national reunification, can the question of reunification be solved truly in accordance with the people's will and demands.

In particular, the north and the south differ as to their ideologies, ideals and social systems and, moreover, there really exist parties and social organizations with differing ideals inside the north and the south. In such conditions the dialogue of the north and the south which deals with the reunification question should not be confined within the limits of the authorities of both sides, but its scope should be widened to cover the whole nation, and the active participation of the broad masses is essential.

In fact, the political parties and social organizations of the north and the south are now strongly demanding their direct participation in bringing about the cause of the country's reunification.

Already on August 19, 1972 the political parties and social organizations in the northern half issued a joint statement proposing the political parties and social organizations in south Korea to hold a political consultative conference of representatives of the political parties, social organizations and people in all walks of life in the north and the south.

Voices are ringing out louder from among opposition parties and people of different strata in south Korea, voices demanding the formation of a national consultative body to settle the question of reunification, which will allow different political parties and social organizations to participate in this national undertaking. And some political parties even declared that they would adopt this demand as their political programme and policy.

At its National Congress held in May last, the New Democratic Party in south Korea adopted it as its reunification programme to "reorganize the current North-South Coordination Commission into a consultative body of the entire nation embracing various strata in order to oppose one-man show of the ruling force with regard to the reunification question and to reflect and coordinate the will of the whole nation aspiring to reunification" (the *Pusan Ilbo* Bureau, May 3, 1973).

The head of the United Democratic Party in south Korea also claimed that an "all-nation consultative body for reunification should be formed with the leading personages from political parties and all other social quarters, who respect and can reflect the will of the entire nation for the accomplish-

ment of the reunification of the north and the south" (the *Kukje Sinbo* Bureau, June 15, 1973).

Our proposal for the convocation of a political consultative conference represents an urgent question of principle that must be solved to promote national reunification in that national reunification constitutes the task of the entire nation and that the proposal reflects the demand of the realities.

If this proposal is realized, the movement of our people for national reunification will be greatly promoted and favourable soil will be created for national unity among the people of different sectors, different parties, groupings and patriotic personages in the north and the south that aspire to reunification.

Then, the cause of independent, peaceful national reunification will be more vigorously advanced by the efforts of the entire people in north and south Korea, and national reunification will be hastened to the utmost on the strength of the democratic will and initiative of the broad sectors of the people.

All of our basic proposals mentioned above contain the important and urgent problems that must be discussed and solved by both sides to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country; they all correctly reflect the spirit of the north-south joint statement agreed upon by both sides, the objective reality of our country and the burning desire of our people.

Our proposals, as is clear from their contents, are aimed solely at unity between the north and the south rather than confrontation, at promotion of reunification by preventing split, at the settlement of the question of national reunification by the efforts of the entire nation rather than by a specified few and at the maximum acceleration of reunification without delay.

Precisely herein lie the keynote of our proposals and their patriotic and peace-loving spirit.

There is no doubt that if these proposals become a reality, an atmosphere of unity and collaboration based on mutual trust and understanding instead of distrust and antagonism and confrontation will be created between the north and the south, and there will be created conditions decisively in favour of improving the north-south relations and realizing the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

3

The attitude of the south Korean side towards the dialogue and their aim in the dialogue were quite contrary to ours.

Their aim and standpoint were to restrict the dialogue by all means to

secondary and lesser problems and thus leave the essential questions related to reunification unsettled, narrow down the scope of dialogue and keep the door shut between the north and the south as tight as possible and to create "two Koreas" by making reunification impossible by hook or by crook and maintaining the state of confrontation and split between the north and the south.

This is eloquently proved by the acts and arguments of the south Korean side invariably practised both in and out of the conference halls since the opening of the north-south dialogue.

From the very outset of the talks, the south Korean side has laid artificial obstacles to the dialogue with us and clung to double-dealing tactics to avoid agreement on the questions of principle which are essential to improving the north-south relations.

At the talks the south Korean side doggedly objected, above all, to our proposals for the elimination of military confrontation and easing of tension.

The south Korean side contended that it was "not yet time", and "conditions" were not yet ripe, to discuss the question.

The question of national reunification, the burning aspiration of the whole nation, has remained unsettled over the past 28 years. Under these circumstances, if only both sides have a desire to solve the urgent question, "time" or "conditions" will not in fact pose any problem.

More particularly, both sides have agreed in the north-south joint statement on refraining from armed provocation and on taking positive steps to prevent casual military conflicts in order to ease the tension and create an atmosphere of trust between the north and the south, and the North-South Coordination Commission has been formed to discuss and settle the points of agreements. Under these conditions the argument about the "time" and "conditions" is nothing but a pretext to object our just proposals.

No matter what pretext they may put forward, their evasion of the discussion of this urgent question only reveals their intention to continue with the arms drive and maintain the state of military confrontation.

This is an attitude stimulating distrust and worsening the relations between the north and the south rather than increasing mutual trust and improving the relations. It is evident that this attitude is not conducive to the peaceful reunification of the country.

By refusing even to discuss the reasonable proposals of our side, the south Korean side glaringly exposed that they want neither the relaxation of tension between the north and the south, nor a substantial improvement in the north-south relations, nor the peaceful national reunification; they only want antagonism and confrontation between the two sides.

The attitude of the south Korean side contradicts with the new situation today when the dialogue is under way and the north-south relations have begun to develop in a positive direction, runs counter to the trends of international developments and also means violating their own solemn pledge given to the whole nation.

The south Korean authorities "agreed to work with joint efforts in all spheres" with the north (the Joint Communiqué on the Second Meeting of the Co-Chairmen of the NSCC, announced on November 4, 1972) and they themselves suggested that the two societies be "completely opened" to each other. But they turned down our concrete proposals to put them into effect.

It is self-evident that the attitude of the south Korean side which refuses to implement the policy of collaboration agreed upon by both sides conflicts with the elementary rules for the operation of the talks and seriously impairs mutual faith.

But the more essential point lies in the fact that they, while advocating a "complete opening of societies" themselves, object any collaboration and interchange in political and military fields and say they may discuss only a limited exchange in economic and cultural fields.

If they really want a "complete opening of societies", why should they object collaboration and interchange in the fields of politics, military and foreign affairs? Still more, why should they stubbornly oppose even the institutioning of political, military and foreign affairs sub-committees in the Coordination Commission?

Needless to say, they are mute about it.

This proves how their words and deeds contradict with each other and how persistent they are in evading practical solution of the question.

In fact, their contention that they may discuss only the way of limited exchange in economic and cultural fields, while paying lip service to "complete opening of societies" and objecting our concrete collaboration proposals for eliminating the barriers between the north and the south, is aimed to fool people and delay the settlement by pretence of agreeing on some of the questions because they find it impossible to reject all our fair and reasonable proposals. This cannot be considered an attitude of really settling the question.

It is obvious that the limited exchange in the domain of the economy and culture which they say they may discuss would make no contribution to improving the north-south relations and promoting reunification, even if it were to be put into effect to the full.

At a time when political confrontation continues and they are building up armaments and military strength in pursuance of the pronounced policy of "getting ready for war", such an exchange would at most help towards developing the split into "two Koreas" or else further the political and military confrontation between the north and the south.

The attempt of the south Korean side to maintain the barriers between the north and the south and perpetuate the confrontation and split has also been brought to light through their objection to our proposal for the convocation of a political consultative conference of representatives of the political parties and social organizations in the north and the south.

From the outset they intended to oppose a wide range of dialogue

between the north and the south and comprehensive contacts among the personages of political parties and groupings and people of different sectors and by all means to make it a dialogue within a narrow circle in the backstreet, permitting the participation of only the agents of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Therefore, they shunned the announcement of the north-south joint statement and delayed it over one month. They refused to develop the Coordination Commission into a large, authoritative body and doggedly rejected political negotiations between the north and the south.

It is not difficult to understand why they oppose the already known north-south dialogue to be held fairly amidst the interest of the whole nation and with its participation, and persist in keeping it within a narrow framework. It is because they fear that the barriers between the north and the south may topple down; they fear the people who aspire to the country's reunification.

Particularly they oppose a north-south political consultative meeting because they try to suppress the free expression of will by the opposition parties, social organizations and the majority of the people in south Korea and lead the north-south dialogue off the course the people want.

The south Korean side maintains that a political negotiation with the participation of people from all walks of life is unnecessary because they represent the will of the masses. But if they speak for the genuine will of the people and are ready to settle the question of national reunification in conformity with their interests, there is no reason why they should reject such a political consultative meeting.

By rejecting this meeting in which representatives of political parties, social organizations and all sectors of the people in the north and south will take part, they themselves disclose the fact that they do not represent the will of the people nor seek for the reunification which the people demand, but for the perpetuation of national division which they oppose.

These unjust allegations the south Korean side made in the talks show that they come to the dialogue but refuse to reach any agreement and that they put up the signboard of "peaceful reunification" but have no intention to solve the reunification question and, in the last analysis, they want to perpetuate national division.

The south Korean authorities who had been dead set against the peaceful reunification of the country agreed to have a dialogue with us now. This does not mean that their policy to split the nation has changed; they have merely replaced their signboard under the changed situation.

The opposition of the south Korean authorities to reunification and their scheme to perpetuate the country's partition have been clearly proved by all their doings outside the conference hall since the north-south conversation was started.

They disparaged and derogated the north-south joint statement, immediately after its publication.

At a press conference right after the announcement of the joint statement, Li Hu Rak who was a Co-Chairman of the south Korean side, said that now the north-south relations "have gone over to a confrontation with a dialogue from that without a dialogue", and that "a confrontation with a dialogue is much more difficult," thus intensifying the discord and confrontation between the north and the south (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, July 4, 1972).

Two days after the north-south joint statement was issued, in his reply at the "National Assembly" a south Korean top official openly impaired the spirit of this statement, saying "We can neither tell our fortune with a few words of the statement nor trust it", and "We will allow free and sound criticism on the north-south joint statement" (the *Radio Hanguk Munhwa*, July 6, 1972).

After the north-south joint statement was made public, lively discussions about reunification which had been long prohibited took place among the south Korean people and the trend towards peaceful reunification mounted rapidly. So the south Korean authorities did everything in their power to cool them off and repress the patriots and people who want peaceful reunification.

The highest authority of south Korea himself actively hampered the discussion on reunification, clamouring that "All the people must soften their excessive argument or excitement and restore cool reason" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, July 7, 1972) and "It took 300 years for Silla to unify the Three Kingdoms."

At the same time, the south Korean reptile press warned people "not to get excited too much" and launched a vociferous propaganda campaign to suppress the rapidly mounting trends towards reunification.

The south Korean government-operated radios repeatedly stressed, "If we step up the dialogue hastily, it will weaken great national unity" and "We must not expect peaceful reunification too impetuously" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, December 25, 1972).

The vicious propaganda campaign to stifle the spirit of peaceful reunification even produced this preposterous allegation: "Peaceful reunification will involve the death of several millions and so will the reunification by force of arms. Why on earth should we reunify the country even at the cost of several millions of lives?"; "It would be a good idea to examine the question of reunification 30 to 40 years later" (the *Radio Christian*, October 1, 1972).

As they could not cope with the situation even through such false propaganda, the south Korean authorities went so far as to declare "emergency martial law" in addition to the "state of emergency" in October last year, so that they banned all political activities and instituted a rigid censorship over the press and radio, stopping the mouths and ears

of people and binding their hands and feet (the "Martial Law Commander's Proclamation No. 1", October 17, 1972).

Overnight, they turned south Korea into an utterly dark land and enforced what they called the "Restoration Reform". Thus, under the pretext of "unifying public opinion", they saw to it that the reunification could be debated only at the "National Congress for Reunification and Independence", a body controlled by the "President", and that even the slightest degree of debate on reunification incurred punishment as an "act of dividing public opinion".

In order to repress the aspirations for the reunification, they not only prohibited people from talking about the reunification but cruelly punished under evil fascist laws the south Korean people and patriots who insisted on the country's peaceful reunification and strove for it.

Even after the north-south dialogue was started, they monstrosly slaughtered many patriots, including Kim Gyu Nam, former "Member of the National Assembly", and Dr. and Professor Pak Dae In who had struggled for the democratization of south Korean society and the peaceful reunification of the country.

In a little over two months following the "October Restoration" they arrested and imprisoned more than 600 innocent people under the "Anti-Communist Law" because they had advocated the country's independent, peaceful reunification or spoken about the actual situation in the northern half of the Republic; of them 320 were sentenced to penal servitude of three years and more.

Last February, immediately before the "elections to the National Assembly", a south Korean opposition politician was put on trial on the "charge" of having advocated the "north-south interchange" and the "formation of a north-south council for reunification" in 1961, more than ten years ago.

A certain Pyo in Seoul was arrested under the "Anti-Communist Law" because he had supported the north-south joint statement and expressed his opinion, saying: "I hope the country will be reunified as early as possible so that we may travel freely between the north and the south" (the *Tong-a Ilbo*, July 4, 1972).

A certain Kang, a day labourer in Seoul, was arrested on charge of violating the "Anti-Communist Law" because he had told his friends truthfully about the real conditions in the northern half of the Republic (the *Radio Christian*, July 15, 1972).

Needless to say, there are numerous cases in which innocent inhabitants were arrested and imprisoned on charge of having spoken about national reunification.

What is more, the south Korean authorities unhesitatingly dispatched their CIA agents even to a foreign country to kidnap Kim Dae Jung, a south Korean democrat, in broad daylight because he had advocated the country's peaceful reunification and democracy and conducted political

activities for their materialization; they have confined him and are now maliciously manoeuvring to charge him with the "violation of the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law".

All these fascist tyrannical acts of the south Korean authorities—repressing the surging tide for national reunification and indiscriminately punishing the patriots and people struggling for the reunification in south Korea—plainly show how desperately they are opposed to the reunification in actual fact, though they pay lip service to "peaceful reunification".

While harshly repressing the forces for peaceful reunification internally, they are ushering in the outside forces on a massive scale to "foster their capability" needed for confrontation with us. They are thus laying greater obstacles to the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

They said, "Neither the UN forces in south Korea nor the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is a foreign force" (the south Korean *Radio Munhwa*, July 6, 1972). In addition, they prattled, "The longer the U.S. troops stay here, the better" (the *Radio Tong-a*, November 24, 1972) and sent a mission to the United States to beg for the long stationing of the U.S. imperialist aggressor army.

This means that, instead of achieving the independent national reunification with the united efforts of the north and the south, they are endeavouring to confront with us, relying on the armed forces of foreign aggressors and maintain their power with foreign backing; it means in the final analysis that to keep themselves in power, they want to live separately for ever, by creating "two Koreas".

While rejecting the cooperation and interchange among the one and the same nation in accordance with such a splittist attitude, they are introducing a massive amount of foreign monopoly capital and increasing their alignment with it, and, particularly, are supplicating Japan for its "aid".

Clamouring for the so-called economic confrontation with us, they have granted unlimited concessions to foreign monopolies and have subordinated the south Korean economy to both the U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital. The south coast of south Korea has entered Japan's exclusive economic sphere of influence and turned into its virtual settlement.

As of the end of last May the total amount of foreign capital invested in south Korea stood at 4,100 million dollars. In south Korea today foreign monopoly capital accounts for 100 per cent of the oil refinery industry, 80 per cent of the electric power industry, 65 per cent of the cement industry, 100 per cent of the plastic and pulp industries and 100 per cent of the automobile assembly industry.

The manoeuvres of the south Korean authorities for north-south antagonism and confrontation and division are more undisguised in the military sphere.

The south Korean authorities have turned down our proposal for removing the military confrontation, and are intensifying war preparations against our side. They say, "In order to win in the confrontation with a dialogue, we need a backing of strength, and this means maintaining a powerful setup of security" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, January 1, 1973).

In the past year following the announcement of the joint statement alone, they have continually increased their military power by introducing various kinds of weapons and large quantities of military equipment, including new-type destroyers and fighter-bombers. Even now they are incessantly expanding war production and military installations.

Especially noteworthy here is the fact that large-scale military exercises of the three services in offensive operations are being conducted more openly and frequently with the participation of the south Korean troops and the U.S. imperialist aggression forces. Their supposed enemy is the northern half of the Republic. This year alone, large-scale war exercises have been held one after another at the front and in the rear, such as the "winter mobile exercises of special units", "ROK-U.S. joint amphibian exercises of marine corps", "1973 Golden Dragon operation" and "civilian anti-aircraft exercises" (the *Japan Press*, May 19, 1973).

Not only this. The bellicose elements in south Korea are bustling about along the Military Demarcation Line and clamouring all the time for strengthening "war setup" and getting "ready to go to war at once" (the *Tonghwa News Agency*, January 5, 1973). They are intentionally aggravating tension by unhesitatingly perpetrating military provocations against the northern half of the Republic. From January to the end of May this year they committed over 6,340 cases of espionage acts and military provocations against our side.

The south Korean side is further aggravating the north-south relations by ceaselessly conducting malicious propaganda against our side and sending in armed spies.

Even according to incomplete data, the south Korean side has slandered us on over 16,000 occasions up to the end of May this year since the second meeting of the Co-Chairmen of the North-South Coordination Commission in November last year when the two sides agreed upon desisting from vilifying each other.

How malicious their propaganda against us has grown is clearly to be seen in the fact that they are more openly raising provocative "anti-communist" clamours, saying: "We wish to see our national flag flying on Mt. Paekdu-san" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, January 22, 1973).

All the doings of the south Korean authorities in and outside the conference hall since the north-south dialogue started clearly prove that even though they sat at the conference table with us under the cloak of "peaceful reunification", they have consistently opposed coopera-

tion, cohesion and unity between the north and the south and have only sought the continuation of hostility, confrontation and division.

The scheme of the double-faced south Korean authorities to split the nation was most glaringly revealed in the so-called "special statement" of Pak Jung Hi announced on last June 23.

In this statement, the south Korean authorities clamoured about "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" and "simultaneous admission to the UN", thereby openly revealing their line of "two Koreas" aimed at perpetuating the division of the nation (the *Radio Christian*, June 23, 1973).

In so doing they virtually scrapped the north-south joint statement in which they solemnly declared that they would strive for the country's reunification. Thus, they torpedoed the north-south dialogue aimed at attaining reunification and revealed their real intention to perpetuate national division.

All these nation-splitting manoeuvres of the south Korean side are a direct product of the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists who are plotting to make south Korea their permanent colony and military base.

Regarding south Korea as an important prop to shore up their system of colonial rule which is facing total bankruptcy in Asia, the U.S. imperialists are scheming to keep their hold on it for ever. To attain this end, they have kept manoeuvring craftily to perpetuate Korea's division and rig up "two Koreas" even after the north-south joint statement was published and the north-south talks started.

Outwardly, the U.S. imperialists pretended to welcome the north-south dialogue, but, in reality, they have prevented its progress in every way from the start, instigating the south Korean authorities to "confrontation" with the north.

They keep their troops in south Korea and are pushing ahead with the "plan for modernizing" the south Korean army saying that a "backing of strength" is needed in order to inspire "south Korea with self-confidence in proceeding with the negotiations with north Korea" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, March 30, 1973).

The U.S. imperialists have poured more than 800 million dollars into south Korea for the "modernization of the ROK army" since 1971 when the north-south dialogue started.

It is nobody's secret that this "aid" is geared to the reinforcement of military strength and war preparations in order to "try conclusions" with us.

The U.S. imperialists' efforts to obstruct our country's reunification can also be clearly seen in the fact that no sooner had Pak Jung Hi announced his "special statement" than they expressed "full approval" of it, earlier than anybody else (the *Tongyang News Agency*, June 23, 1973), and that former U.S. Secretary of State Rogers came to south Korea and

said, "The United States actively supports and welcomes the simultaneous entry into the UN of two Koreas" (the south Korean *Radio Chungang*, July 20, 1973).

The U.S. imperialists are working hard to drag the Japanese militarist forces into their plot against the Korean people as their accomplice.

The Japanese militarists are spinning a day-dream to restore their old position in Korea in return for their participation in the U.S. aggressive policy. Thus, they are stepping up their reinvasion into south Korea in all fields of politics, economy, culture and military affairs and are egging the south Korean authorities on to confrontation with us.

It is precisely because the south Korean authorities are inspired by the U.S. and Japanese aggressors in this way that they are clinging to double-dealing tactics and hindering the improvement of the north-south relations and national reunification.

All the facts clearly show why the south Korean authorities have abused and violated the north-south joint statement from the very day when it was announced, and why they have so stubbornly rejected our just reunification proposals.

It is precisely because they want neither cooperation, nor cohesion nor unity of the north and the south, and because they are only seeking to create "two Koreas" in order to perpetuate the division of the country.

Now it is clear for all to see who really wants peace and reunification, who really is after war and division, who really loves the nation and who really betrays it.

Despite the consistent and sincere efforts of the Government of our Republic for the country's independent, peaceful reunification, the north-south dialogue has come to a stalemate, and the prospects for independent, peaceful reunification, a result of great endeavours, are again becoming gloomy. This is entirely due to the U.S. imperialists' policy to divide our nation and to the nation-splitting manoeuvres of the south Korean authorities who, following this policy, are seeking north-south confrontation and creation of "two Koreas".

4

The attitudes of the two sides towards the dialogue are antipodal.

In a word, the antagonism between the two sides at the dialogue is the antagonism of the independent line to the line of dependence on outside forces, the antagonism of the peace line to the war line, the antagonism of the line of unity to the line of confrontation and, in the end, it is the antagonism between the line of reunification and the line of division.

Owing to the desperate attempts of the south Korean authorities to follow the line of division, the north-south talks, realized through great efforts, are now facing a serious crisis, and the once bright prospects for the country's reunification are again becoming dark.

The prevailing situation urgently demands that our people take radical measures to save the nation in order to prevent the perpetuation of national division and facilitate the cause of national reunification.

In his historic speech of June 23 this year, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the D.P.R.K., put forward a five-point reunification programme as a radical measure for national salvation in order to overcome the present difficulties and hasten the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

In the speech, Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our proposal is to remove military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south, materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the two parts, convene the Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all strata and political parties and social organizations in the north and south, institute the north-south Confederation under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and enter the UN under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. When this proposal for the country's reunification is put into effect, there will be a great turning point in accomplishing the historic cause of peaceful national reunification on the principle of the north-south joint statement, as commonly desired by our people and the world's people."

The five-point programme for national reunification announced by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung involves urgent matters of principle that must be solved to improve the relations between the north and the south and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

The elimination of the military confrontation between the north and the south will not only guarantee the removal of the danger of war and a durable peace in our country, but also enable the two sides to deepen mutual trust, rapidly improve the north-south relations and settle more smoothly all problems related to the national reunification on the basis of mutual confidence.

Many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields are a legitimate and fundamental aspect of mutual relations which should be established between both sides pending the complete national reunification; this will put an end to the protracted confrontation between the two parts, restore their national ties as speedily as practicable and create in all spheres truly favourable conditions for peaceful reunification.

Also, a Great National Congress, an all-nation body to discuss and settle the problems of national reunification, will enable us to more vigor-

ously promote the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of the people since it will allow the people of all walks of life from the north and the south to take part in the great national patriotic work for the country's reunification.

The proposal to institute a north-south Confederation and enter the UN under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo is of special importance in preventing national division and bringing about the reunification of the fatherland. Since, in reality, the north and the south have different ideologies, ideals and institutions, this north-south Confederation is the most reasonable way to reunify the country peacefully in the form of a confederation with the existing two social systems kept as they are for the time being.

Particularly, the suggestion to name the proposed confederal state Confederal Republic of Koryo, after the state which once existed on our territory and was widely known to the world, reflects our people's national feeling and conforms with our history. So it is fair and square, acceptable to both sides. When the north-south Confederation is established, full-scale contact and collaboration will be achieved and an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust will replace that of misunderstanding and mistrust; the north-south relations will be consolidated and developed on a new basis of national unity.

The founding of the Confederal Republic of Koryo will bring about a decisive phase in the prevention of national split and the promotion of the country's complete reunification which is eagerly desired by the entire Korean people in the north and the south.

Instituting the Confederation under a single name is, indeed, the most fair and patriotic proposal; it will foil all the attempts to perpetuate the split and help maintain and develop the ties as a homogeneous nation and speed up the reunification.

The proposal to enter the UN not separately but as one state under a single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo is an urgently necessary measure to prevent our country from being divided in two for good and to accelerate national reunification earnestly desired by the whole nation. The separate entry of the north and the south into the UN in the present state of division will only perpetuate the split of the nation.

Ours is a single nation that has shared the same language and the same culture throughout a long history; we can never live divided nor can we hand down to our posterity the pains of the split we have been suffering over a quarter of a century.

The five-point programme for national reunification set forth by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the D.P.R.K., illumines the road to reunification; on the principles of the north-south joint statement it will make it possible to put an end to foreign interference and achieve the historic cause of peaceful national

reunification on the basis of great national unity and in conformity with our people's will and demand.

This programme suits the aspirations of the peace-loving people of the world for peace in Korea and the peaceful solution of the Korean question, and fully conforms with the trends of the present times against imperialism and for national independence and sovereignty. This is precisely the reason why since its announcement this historic programme has been unanimously supported and warmly hailed by the entire people in north and south Korea, as well as the peace-loving people the world over.

When this historic reunification programme is implemented, there will be a new turning point in the north-south relations and our people will make a decisive advance towards the achievement of the historic task of peaceful national reunification.

All the Korean people, boundlessly encouraged by this save-the-nation programme for the country's reunification, are rising up dynamically to put it into practice.

If the south Korean authorities want to return even now to the fold of the people, they must desist from their criminal manoeuvring to manufacture "two Koreas" and must promptly accept our fair proposal for national reunification.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is as faithful as ever to the north-south joint statement and making every effort to achieve national reunification on the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

No one can bend our people's iron will to reunify the country for themselves as soon as possible; no force can ever reverse the fierce torrents of our times heading for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

The Korean people will tide over all hardships and obstacles and achieve the independent peaceful reunification.

We are firmly convinced that as in the past, all the peace-loving people and the public of the world will, in the future too, condemn the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to perpetuate the partition of Korea and create "two Koreas", and give more positive support and encouragement to the Korean people in their just struggle to reunify the country with their own efforts independently, peacefully and along democratic lines without any foreign interference.